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132 In the rainy season great torrents of tropical rain fall daily, making
312 large portions of the mainland south of the Arafura Sea, for weeks and sometimes months at a time, a series of islands in a shallow sea of mud and water. Then, with rare interruptions, there is continuous drought for six or seven months. During the wet season tropical vege-
[137] tation has sprung up everywhere; giant spear grass sometimes grows to twelve and fourteen feet in height, covering all the country and paths, making communication a difficult matter at best, and in many places impossible. The water recedes, the water holes become drier and drier, and a large number disappear entirely; birds and fish are gone, and the many varieties of lilies and yams disappear. It is then that the native appreciates the value of water, just as before he realized the harm it could do him. It is doubtful if anyone ever died of thirst in this country, but it is certain that many have felt its pangs. Deaths have occurred from the great floods. It is small wonder that with the food
[823] and drink of life dependent on the water holes, and possible death resulting from the great floods, the native has made water his chief symbol of the clan's spiritual life.

312 The water hole may be an ordinary small lake or billibong, a river
778 or creek flooding through the domain of the clan, a spring of water, or a native well or water hole; and in a few cases it may be the ocean itself, but this last form is usually associated with a tidal spring.[9] All the water holes found in the territory of a clan are divided into two classes: they are either garma wells or narra (ranga) wells. The first are totemic but not sacred; they were made by the lower order of totems, whose emblems may be displayed in camp and seen by the women. The narra wells are always sacred; they were made by the higher wongar totems, whose emblems are ranga (higher emblems) and can be seen only by the initiated young men after the age of puberty. A clan always has at least one and sometimes three or four of the latter.

778 The narra water hole is usually not taboo to women. They may
[562] obtain water there, bathe in the pool, and possibly fish or gather yams and lily bulbs. Occasionally a well becomes so taboo that no woman is allowed near it. Such is the great well, Mir-rir-min-a, of the

[192] [9] The following native terms are used: a water hole or well, mang-o-tji (literally, eye); a spring, mil-min-jerk; river, man-i (literally, throat); creek, par-ka; a small rill running from a spring or artesian well, ri-el-la; billibong, lum-mi (upper thigh); rock-basin water, gar-ra (rain) nar-ku-la (water); fresh-water bog, mar-a-ka; saline but drinkable bog water, gal-la-min-dir; the ocean, or salt spring, or any salt water which is undrinkable, ka-pu mon-ok (water salt).

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degree of variation; and as far as I could determine, the chief criteria which tended toward uniformity in the language are a use and a pronunciation of the various words sufficiently varied to identify a person with his own linguistic area, and yet with enough speech uniformity to be understood by the people as a whole.

The Murngin clans are listed below, by tribe. The names of each clan "dialect," of the clan country, and of the high, medium and low (garma) totems were, with few exceptions, collected for all. The "sacred names" of water holes and of rangas (higher totems) are from the Murngin "sacred language," which is fairly extensive, including names for each individual, for all the foods eaten, et cetera. Although I was not always certain of the exact translation of the "sacred words," I did learn the identity of the things to which these words referred. A number of the "sacred words" had a number of references in a specific situation.

MURNGIN CLANS

The Murngin Tribe

1.[16]*WARUMERI*[17] (red cloud) language; PUREL PUREL (red cloud) people, also MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:*[18] Katingalunga (blow fly); *sacred name:* Urlawarla (Northeast wind place).

b. *Camp name:* Wardawardama (crayfish); *sacred names:* Barndangwawi (black duck stone), Minniminni (black duck stone), Bullomiri (black duck stone).—This is a water hole made by the Ritarngo black duck on Malleson Island.

c. *Camp name:* Nirdaoko, Niyoryuna (untranslated).—On Tremont Island.

COUNTRY: Djellidjirri (rocks)—country around Cape Wilberforce; Yamunga—Bromby Island; Onburrer (calm sea)—English Company Islands; Nanginbura (tail of whale)—Elcho Island, 1M;[19] Kaiya (anchor rope)—Elcho Island.

[16] Arabic numerals refer to clan numbers on the map.—Since I did not go over the entire territory and since the greater part of this country has never been surveyed, some of the locations on the map may be only approximate.

[17] Starred clan names are the ones used on the map.

[18] Camp names are ordinary names used by both sexes; the sacred names are known only to men.

[19] Certain of the Murngin clans are supposed to have clan lands on Elcho Island within the general Yaernungo area. These are indicated on the map by number and "M" only.

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MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg, large basket (warkaitja); low: crayfish, garrawark (mythical son of barrimundi fish), barrimundi, whale, whale rib, dugong rib.

Garma: canoe mast (maraiyer), a red cloud (ripa), a stick (wallo), a line of clouds that indicates the wind will stop (dirmala), bamboo, grave post (urumo), evening star (djirpun), old woman who controls it (Kutjeringo), variety of paper-bark tree (uror), mangrove flower (uetja), silver mangrove (bandjur), fish spear (makur), heron (kormolo), leeches, a swamp, dugong, sting ray, white lily.

2. ŪRORI.URL (buffalo fly) people; *KAI.PU (line of sharp pointed clouds) language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Telipia (stone); *sacred names:* Dumara (when Yurlunggur [carpet snake] fell down), Luwandi (hiss of snake), Napinya (lightning: Yurlunggur's tongue)—western English Company Islands.

b. *Camp name:* Moalangul (spray of waves); *sacred names:* Kurlinyina (Djunkgao sisters stopped there), Warlinyina (sun comes up, reference to actions of the two women), Gurwaurlwa (feathered arm band [of the two sisters])—Melville Bay.

COUNTRY: Buadua (buffalo fly)—western English Company Islands; Karranun (large hooked wooden spear)—Melville Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: swamp grass (darango), crab, menstruating young girl (miliyiring); low: plains goana (djinda), yam stick, tail of goana (djinda rapiri), a jungle tree from which spear throwers are sometimes made (tjota), red parrot, young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), foreskin of a man (tapo).

Garma: sea gull (djerak), wood brought in on the tide (uroko), porpoise (burlainbir), moon fish (millika), a rock (burua), young porpoise (puiapuia), morning star (barnumbir), bamboo spear, stone spear, spear thrower (mangel), variety of the wild bee (yerpain), boomerang (garliarli), white feather string (malka).

3. RIRAIDJINGO (snake's teeth) people; *KAI.PU language.

WATER HOLES: Only Garma wells.

COUNTRY: Tamballia (darkness caused by a heavy rain)—Melville Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 for garmas, but no rangas.)

4. KAPIN (a grass used to poison fish) people; MUKKANAIMULMI language (also called *KAI.PU).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Daringaminga (a swamp grass); *sacred*

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names: Dupera (a red parrot swimming), Dulerpa (white clay [two Djunkgao sisters painted them]), Kawia (two sisters listen to singing stick).—North of Port Bradshaw.

COUNTRY: Moalunggal—north of Port Bradshaw; Rorronga (sting ray)—west of Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 and #3.)

5.*WANGURRI (fresh water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Nutjuruami (stone); *sacred names:* Bolomiri (colored stratified rocks), Yaitpi (rocks), Bangor Bangor (film over an egg), Yurkyurk (duck's waddle).—Mollison Island.

b. *Camp name:* Dalinga (white interior of a cycad palm [Banitja swallowed it]); *sacred names:* Djambarlmurro (stone fire for the palm food), Baiingnarra (Barrimundi split the water hole); Barlwarttji (leaves and sticks carried by the tide).—Southeastern Arnhem Bay.

c. *Camp name:* Tamuitpir (river mouth); *sacred name:* Puimar.

COUNTRY: Mutamil (a fresh water snake)—Mallison Island in Arnhem Bay and on Cape Newbald east of Mallison Island; Dalinga (white interior of cycad palm nut)—southeast Arnhem Bay; Tamuitpir (river mouth)—Mt. Alexander, north of Caledon Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Tukaruma (a mythical stone-like creature who is the son of Garrawark), a mangrove log, a man's cough (narlpar), white trunked tree (guriri), black duck egg; low: garrawark, banitja (barrimundi), mangrove fish.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

6.*LUMMAMI language; MALARDORDO (palm tree basket) people.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Naindjaka (name of Cape Arnhem); *sacred names:* Yilkaritpi, Cape Arnhem mainland; Daraiinni (Yiritja sting ray).

b. *Camp name:* Utjingduru (whale nose); *sacred name:* Wimmerri (whale).—Small island off Cape Arnhem.

COUNTRY: Uitjingduru.—Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg; large basket (workaitja); low: rib of whale, whale's fin (paddle), garrawark, and banitja.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

7.*KOMAITS (northeast wind) language; KAINYAO (a jungle fruit) people.

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WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground); *sacred names:* Waritpui (tied up [when two sisters tied up paper bark]), Gurwan (big trunk of a paper-bark tree), Buikwan (small pieces of bark that blow away when a large piece of bark is torn off a trunk).

COUNTRY: Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground)—Port Bradshaw, southwest of Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: roots of paper-bark tree (tapamur); low: variety of native bee (yerpain), honey stick (garnin), orchid (djelkork), fresh water turtle, mud when turtle buries himself (minbu), a large-leafed lily (damakarla), anchor, kangaroo tail.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

8.*DARLWONGO (fresh water) language; NARKALA (barrimundi) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Golerttji (stake for fish trap); *sacred names:* Garngarn (caught [a ranga log was caught here in mythological times]), Ilpuru (head of Yiritja wild bee), Tapulmirri (chin of wild bee), Tamakar (leg of wild bee), Bongitja (honey).

COUNTRY: Noru (head or nose)—southeast of Arnhem Bay; Garngarn (high ground around the well).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: (See Komaits, #7.)

9.*DJAPU people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Borngorlnna (variety of palm tree); *sacred name:* Turrpuitpi (sting-ray prong).

COUNTRY: Garimarla (hole when the great snake went in)—interior, north of Blue Mud Bay.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: sting-ray prong (damarrarwonga), shark liver (djukur), shark's blood (kaparn), head of shark (liamangiwar), shark's teeth and pandanus leaf-thorns (gurrorro), menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: shark (bultmaindji), shark's head dress (warak), white tree found in mangrove jungles (narrao), goona, plains type (djinda), goona tail, mature woman (gungman), yam stick, singing sticks (bilmal), uterus (dulla), small boy (djemerkilli).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

10.*DJAWARK (small black clouds) people; DJAMBARPINGU (small bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Bendringa (native companion); *sacred names:* Tupurla (long forked stick house), Karrimarla (carpet snake's voice).

COUNTRY: Tupurla—south of Arnhem Bay.

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MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: mature woman (gungmun), young girl (wirkul), clitoris (marnbu), foreskin, cane (gurlbaurlba), goona (djinda), yam stick (ganinyiri), singing sticks (bilmal), fire (malnumba), tidal float-wood (ondoko), red parrot (gurnboko), grub in lily pond (kamerung), black ant's nest (ringdjari).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

11.*GWIYAMIL (fish place) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Milmitkutminga (yellow stone point); *sacred names:* Mantgur (fish scale)—Buckingham River.

b. *Camp name:* Gorlokna (|garrawark's| broken spear); *sacred name:* Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay.

COUNTRY: Mantgur (fish scales)—southwest of Buckingham Bay on Buckingham River; Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay; Elcho Island channel (11M).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: crayfish, fresh water turtle (tukarura), mangrove log; low: garrawark, barrimundi, mangrove fish, black duck egg, black duck.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

12.*MERANGO language; DURILI (string bark) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Gundaikunga (chips from tree when Wongar Uré looked for honey); *sacred name:* Raimungir (|hear| frilled neck lizard hearing Uré cut the tree).

COUNTRY: Gundaikunga (tree with wild bee hive)—southwestern Arnhem Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black ant's nest, mud hole left by iguana; low: sun (wailir), sharp pointed stick found in wild bee's hive (yungun), honey (melka), black iguana, frilled neck lizard (baltjurda), young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun).

13.*BIRKILI (line of high clouds) people: KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Yandala (line of clouds); *sacred names:* Luinga (snake's scale), Winbara (lightning [snake's tongue]), Barkurda (snake's skin).

COUNTRY: Yandala (line of clouds)—western Arnhem Bay; Gurama (firelight)—undefined territory on north central Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: snake (mondukal); low: variety of native bees, orchid (djelkork), honey stick and swat (gurnin), sway-

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grass (wirnikamu), swamp tree from which canoes are made (duwal).

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

14.*DJIRIN people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Binyunbi (shark tail); *sacred names:* Djawarknga (spear [of man who killed the Wongar shark]), Gurella (ripples from shark swimming), Gaiwarndi (stone hill left by shark's tidal wave [see myth]), Durdanga (shark's head).

COUNTRY: Djawarlkna (man who fights by ambush)—north Arnhem Bay Peninsula; Kuranga (sleep)—northwest Elcho Island (14M).

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu, #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

15.*GWIYULA people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marnaitja (small catfish); *sacred name:* Marrapai (Djunkgao's rib).

COUNTRY: Marrapai (woman's rib)—mouth of the Buckingham River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

16.*NALADAER people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maderakama (snake's crawl); *sacred name:* Makurda ("lace" spear).

COUNTRY: Maderakama (snake's crawl)—west of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

17.*DAIUROR (Manbiri snake) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose); *sacred names:* Burungnaro (honeybee well), Djiringa (honeybee well), Daul narra (honeybee well).

COUNTRY: Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose)—southwest of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: variety of wild bee (gamo), cough (nalpar), banyan tree (djarnba); low: orchid (djelkork), paper-bark tree (barukala), hive in tree roots (walmunao), tree whose trunk is used for making canoes (duval), stick inside bees' nest (guiparu).

Garma: emu (urparu), the root of a vine (yokowa), a bush

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bird (piapi), opossum fur string (uinbul), small variety of stringy bark tree (garaiyurro).

18.*WULKARA (unclean water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marraniyamunguli (cycad palm's leaf); *sacred names:* Mindjiringa (sand fly), gurlmula (armlet).

COUNTRY: Langera (evening star)—Howard Island and part of adjacent mainland; Bardairinga (flat paper-bark country)—mainland southwest of Howard Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* (See Wangurri, #5.)

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

19.*LIAGAOMIR (head in the mud, a reference to a shellfish) language; DING DING (sparks) people; also DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Laerttutna (mangrove trees); *sacred names:* Yaoer yaoer (whisper, also name of house), Marnbonga (clitoris).

COUNTRY: South of Howard Island. (See Naladaer, #16, for names.)

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (Do not possess this variety of totem.)

20.*LIAALAOMIR (Top [head] of a long house) language; GARLBANUK (catfish).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Durdiella (buttocks [place where the Wawilak women sat down]); *sacred names:* Mirrirmina (snake swallows), Ditjerima (menstruation blood). (Another famous well is the Gruana.)

COUNTRY: Mirrirmina—Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* high: carpet snake's head (pirlinbir), carpet snake's anus (bundji wirtit); low: caterpillar, carpet snake (yurlunggur), carpet snake's neck (wafish), carpet snake's tongue (this is also lightning, mata wirtit), an iguana, green ant (tapalain), singing stick (marliri), a palm tree (gurlwiri), ridgepole of a house (guro guro), house's rafters (milkiri), uprights (dakal dakal), forked stick used for house construction (kanbi kanbi).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

21.*MANDELPUI (snake's spittle) language; GARLBANUK people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp names:* Mandelpuingumi (woman's language), Dariel (to raise up [snake]); *sacred name:* Mariu (throat of carpet snake).

COUNTRY: Mandelpuingumi (see language)—Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

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TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Linalaomir, #20.)
Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

Yaernungo (Black Cloud) Tribe

1.*KOLPA (Black cloud) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Kataanunga (stone knife); *sacred name:* Puikapaiinni (crayfish).

b. *Camp names:* Maranama (leaves moving [from northeast wind]); Buradawart (whale rib); the two water holes on the north part of Cape Wessel Island.

c. *Camp name:* Yiringa (whale bone); *sacred names:* Bangulna (whale backbone), Yaiyuma (whale blowing)—Drysdale Islands.

COUNTRY: Martjimba (farthest point of land pointing into the ocean)—Cape Wessel; Yiringa (whale bone)—Drysdale Island, north of Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*MURRU people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Mundakunga (when Djunkgao sisters sat); *sacred names:* Wangurunga (roar of tide), Djurdupula (sun).

COUNTRY: Mundakunga (buttocks)—southern end of northern Wessel Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), woman's mat (ainmara), hawk billed turtle's penis (kurka maipern), lower leg of hawk billed turtle (maipern), snake's head (lia darpa), snake's anus (bundju darpa); low: hawk-billed turtle (maipern), mud fish (karlmata), yam stick (waitjum), red parrot feather belt (yiritpal).
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

3.*MARUNGUN (red ant hill) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: (No Narra wells, only garma) on Marunga Island; on Rabuma Island (Crocodile group). *Camp name:* Garli guli (penis); *sacred name:* Mangaba (penis).

COUNTRY: Tamballia (dark before a heavy rain)—small island east of north end of Elcho Island; Mia (woman)—southwest Elcho Island; Wallera (paper-bark tree raft)—Marunga Island in Crocodile group.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: No *ranga.*
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

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4.*PERANGO (line of clouds) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp names:* Djirdikaiinga (ceremonial object in Djungguan ceremony), Garuma (snake's hiss); *sacred names:* Guluma (snake's nose), Malpandi (snake's jaw), Daerungar (snake's back), Komurmandait (echoes of snake's roar [thunder]).—South Wessel Island.

b. *Camp name:* Djurdjunga (white paint [used by snake]); *sacred names:* Djuranelpi (bank around the water hole), Burlurlun (sound of spring water flowing).—Eastern Elcho Island.

COUNTRY: Niyakona (swallow)—Wessel Island (south); Djuernelpi (boiling water in a well)—northeastern Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Murru, Yaernungo #2.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

5.*YALUKAL people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLES: (Not collected).

COUNTRY: Kongo (mangrove tree)—central Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

6.*KARMALANGA (banyan tree's fruit) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Guruturunga (rotten yam); *sacred name:* Gawurlinga (mud).

COUNTRY: Karlkobiri (honey swab)—Banyan Island at mouth of Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Miliyirin (menstruation blood), marnbu (clitoris); low: mature woman (gungmun), uncircumcised boy (dapi), parrot feather hair belt (yiritpal), young girl (wirkul), singing sticks (bilmal), jungle tree (murlolo).

Garma: (See Perango, Yaernungo #4.)

Barlamomo Tribe

1.*MARADUNGGIMI people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Kurukaknga (wild bee's head); *sacred names:* Banmala (flight of wild bee), gaiitpi (buzz of a wild bee).

COUNTRY: Bunmala (honeybee flying)—Caledon Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* death adder (maringa or baranana); (see also Djapu, Murngin #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

2.*KIKI or BURILUNG people; KOPARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maiondiji (wrapped anchor rope); *sacred*

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names: Gannal (wrapped anchor rope), murdarkara (tide pulling on anchor rope), nuiyul (anchorage).
COUNTRY: Maiondji (wrapped anchor string)—Caledon Bay.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* low: small snake (burulu).
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

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Dai (Barrimundi) Tribe

1.*MARDERPA (crocodile) people; DAI language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Kakarwilia (sound of water running); *sacred names:* Dulwarrikari (swamp), burnunburnunmi (swamp grass).
COUNTRY: Dulwarrikari (swamp hole)—interior north and west of Blue Mud Bay.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Crocodile (barro), crocodile egg (lainyaer), crocodile's nest (yalo), crocodile intestinal fat (djirimbirlpirl), crocodile head (mirlkor), kangaroo tail, fire (urtja).
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MARUNGUN (red ant's nest) people; DAI language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Mangaia (stench of a dead man); *sacred names:* Nimaindja (knees of women), djumbulwarra (the name of the ceremonial calling out of the sacred names).
COUNTRY: Mangai (stench of a dead man)—Blue Mud Bay.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu; Murngin #9: all rangas the same, except Marungun have no shark ranga or any of the shark's body parts for totems).
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

Ritarngo Tribe

1.*BRINGEL (spear grass) people; RITARNGO (spear grass) language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Garlinga (testicle of a Wongar man bitten by a catfish); *sacred name:* Burawarndji (big stone egg left by a wild duck).
COUNTRY: Marda (small trees, any species).
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Kamur (big stone), kangaroo tail; low: black duck, a flat stone, duck egg, duck's nest.
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*WAWILAK (two mythical creator sisters) people; RITARNGO language.

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614 WATER HOLES: (Did not record, but notes show references to the two Wawilak sisters).
197 COUNTRY: Djindjikara (deep hole).
192 MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, Murngin #20.)
103 *Garma:* (See Ururlurl, Murngin #2.)
616

Djinba (Swamp) Tribe

1.*GUNABLINGU (black goose) language; GURUMBA (black goose) people.
WATER HOLES: (Did not collect.)
COUNTRY: Burawarndji (white stone)—Goyder River.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: split stones when fresh water spring flows; low: swamp snake. (They have others which were not recorded.)
Garma: goose (guamurtji), goslings (birwit), red water lily, goose egg, goose nest.

2.*KURKAMARNAPIA (flying fox's penis) people; DJINBA language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Gurwa gurwa (jungle of bamboo); *sacred name:* Guruwillin (variety of palm).
COUNTRY: Mirnaitja (high hill); golambait (honeybee excrement)—upper Goyder River.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalamoir, Murngin #20.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

Yandjinung Tribe

1.*BARLMAWI people; YANDJINUNG language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Urelnga (spirit of a snake); *sacred name:* Birimbirda (a snake's spirit).
COUNTRY: Urelnga (spirit of snake).
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: munbi (mud hole of a turtle), female fresh water turtle (minala), crayfish (takaowa); low: grebe (djarng djarng), grass under fresh water (norit), fresh water turtle, small snake (munbi), large leafed water lily (djermunda).
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MILYINGI people; YANDJINUNG language.
COUNTRY: Goyder River.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* several varieties of unidentified fish and birds.
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

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3. URKIGAINDJER (stringy bark flower) people; YANDJINUNG language. 614
COUNTRY: Djimbi (vagina)—south of Cape Stewart, but not specifically located by the author. 197
MOIETY: Dua. 192
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* gaimbu (fish net), gurdamurko (catfish), wanduma (mud fish), baltjurda (frilled neck lizard), yungun (sharp stick found in bee hive), wirkul (young girl), gungmun (mature woman), baidjo (yam stick). 103 616
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

4.*KURKAMUL.MUL people; YANDJINUNG language.
COUNTRY: Inland southeast of Cape Stewart.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* singing stick (bilmal), young woman (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), iguana; others unrecorded.
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

5. DAWERAO
6. MANIDJIBUNG
7.*NARNARO

Burera Tribe

1.*WALLAMUNGO people; BURERA language.
COUNTRY: Part of Millingimbi Island, Crocodile group.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

There are other Burera clans which were not recorded.

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though the dugout was capable of carrying more people than its predecessor, it did not develop into a war canoe.

The Malays gave all the islands, beaches, bodies of water, peninsulas, and other landmarks names from their own vocabulary, which the natives learned and used in addition to their own. All the locations in the whole territory which were touched by the Malay sailors have Malay as well as native terms. Men who do not know the Malay dialect usually know the Malay place names of a particular district.

Almost all the people of the Arafura country also have Malay personal names. These names were originally given them by the Malays, but they were passed by the natives to their own relatives through the custom of giving a sister's daughter's son, or a son's son, the name of a mother's mother's brother, or a father's father; and in the female line by giving the daughter's daughter or brother's son's daughter the name of a mother's mother or father's father's sister. The Murngin know which are Malay personal and place names and which are aboriginal in origin.

There were no Malay words adopted by the blacks to describe the various social institutions of the Murngin. No clan or local group, as far as the writer could determine, received a Malay name which was used by the black. No kinship term was adopted from the Malay terms, although it might be argued that the word for father (bapa) in Murngin nomenclature, being the same as the Malay word, was taken from the intruders. When it is realized that this same word bapa figures in the more central tribes as a kinship term, and that in some of these kinship systems it means older brother and in other places describes still different relatives, it will be seen that this likeness in the two languages was probably a coincidence. It could just as easily be argued that our word "papa" was taken over by the blacks and used for their word for father, since white civilization had been in contact with aboriginal Australian culture in the south and east for a considerable period of time. A visiting Malay, had he come to the Arafura country later than the white man, might have argued this were he as uncritical as many white theorists in their arguments for the diffusion of culture traits.

The Malays only slightly influenced Murngin mythology. Certain myths seem to have a possible Malay origin, or, if not Malay, then some other outside source, since they do not seem to fit into the general cultural background. For instance, the belief that a man acquires the soul of the man he has killed may be due to the transportation of the head-hunting idea from Indonesia to Australia by the Malay traders. On the other hand, it is also likely that this Indonesian idea came by way of New Guinea and then down to Australia at a much earlier period than this last, Malay contact.

Certain native myths have been somewhat modified to make a place

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PREFACE

The main purpose of this work is to indicate some fundamental features of an Australian Aboriginal religious cult, the Kunapipi, in one particular area. North-eastern Arnhem Land has been selected, not because it presents a more exotic background or more spectacular ceremonies, but because the cult as seen here is fairly well defined, and because its religious concepts are important and significant to the people concerned. In this region there are several fairly well integrated religious cults, having a common theme and fundamental intent. Most of them, however, have complex local associations, whereas the Kunapipi ceremonies, which have been introduced into north-east Arnhem Land, belong to a configuration which is still widely diffused throughout the Northern Territory.

The plan is to examine the cult as seen in this one region, to consider its relative importance in adjacent areas, and so prepare the way for a more intensive analysis of it in the central-western part of the Northern Territory. Although introduced, the Kunapipi has become closely associated with more truly north-east Arnhem Land mythology, in particular, the Wauwalak, which is used to explain it; but the Wauwalak mythology itself was at some time diffused into north-eastern Arnhem Land, apparently from the same direction as this much later ritual.

The Kunapipi songs of Yirrkalla (in north-east Arnhem Land) have been derived from those commonly in use further south. By examining relevant songs and mythology of adjacent areas, it is possible to trace the movement and diffusion of this cult from one group to another, and to discuss (for instance) the source of the Yirrkalla Kunapipi. This is not really difficult, for the Kunapipi (in all the regions mentioned in this work) possesses the common theme of a Great Mother, expressed as either a single or a dual personality, her power being extended to her daughters, the Wauwalak, Ka'lerika'lering or Mungamunga. She is said to be responsible for the constant fertility of human beings and other natural species, and the continuing sequence of the seasons, as well as for the general similarity of her ritual, emblems and songs. In addition, certain "key" words, which are sacred, are used widely to designate ceremonies, objects and sacred beings.

What does this cult mean to its postulants? Why does it exist? What do the people themselves believe that they are receiving from it? Its basic intent seems to express the latent or conscious desires of

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616 with introduced or external themes. The Djanggawul and Wauwalak
[776] Spirit Beings, the guardians of the most sacred and esoteric ritual,
are *dua*, while Laintjung, Baijini, Macassan and Badu mythology,
[773] ritual, songs and belief are *jiritja*.[2]

As we have said, the *mala* and *mata* belong either to one moiety
614 or to the other; but detailed topographical maps of the region
197 reveal that clan territories are very elastic, so that isolated sites
616 relating to one moiety may exist in the clan country of the opposite
moiety, and so on. Further, the traditional home territory of one
[423] group may be situated elsewhere than it is to-day. This is often discovered only by analysis of clan mythology and its relationship to that of other clans, and the inclusion of linguistic groups in clans which originally were not associated with these particular *mata*. The whole study of clan and linguistic group organization is extremely complicated. We shall, however, mention several of the best known of these, in order to demonstrate their complexity: it is not necessary, for the purpose of this work, to deal with them in any detail.

Dalwongu is a *jiritja mata*, that means "Spring water flowing after
614 rain and the swamp bird, *wanba*, calling out when he sees it". It
616 belongs not only to the Nungulrulpoi (meaning "a shoal of *gunbirawi*
192 young mullet") whose alternate name is Numbiripala (meaning
"those who subincise", that is, they are influenced from Rose River:
vide the body of this work), or Malar'watjeri (i.e. "the clan of the subincision"), but to others. These particular Dalwongu are distinguished from the others by the "heavy" quality of their language. Allied to this Dalwongu *mata*, within this particular *mala*, are the Kalaulwun (meaning "the *wanba* bird in the bamboo tree") and Mararbu (that is, "the *wanba* bird") *mata*, who belong also to other *mala* and not only to the Nungulrulpoi. The alternate term for the *mala*, Malar'watjeri, is used also as a separate *mala*, and its *mata* are Dalwongu, Bilmalandji ("paperbark near the salt water") and Di:agoi (meaning "paperbark"): this Dalwongu group is allied to the first, and to the other *mata* which are rightfully Malar'watjeri.

Another Dalwongu group belongs to the Ngelkala *mala* (meaning

[113] 2. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309–326, 2 plates and text figures; Secular Figures of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16–50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93–103, plate; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286–332; R. and C. Berndt, Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication (a detailed study of the Djanggawul religious cult of north-eastern Arnhem Land); R. Berndt, *Daughters of the Sun* (a further study of the Djanggawul cult from the north-central Arnhem Land point of view), for publication; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People* (F. W. Cheshire, for publication); R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (sexual behaviour in north-eastern Arnhem Land), volume for publication.

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"a mangrove barramundi"), whose home is around Blue Mud Bay. Ngelkala is a "new" name, while the old term is Numburula, meaning "a barramundi springing up after small fish". Still another Dalwongu ("light" language) belongs to the Manaitja ("the wild honey bee"); another belongs to the Biringal *mala* (that is, "grass shooting out from a pool of water"), but is now allied to the Ri:tarngu (meaning the same as Biringal) *mata*; and another to the Mandji:kai ("sandfly") *mala*, being thus allied to a number of other *mata*.

Ri:radjingu is a *dua mata* (meaning "a long horizontal white cloud"), whose *mala* is Wururul ("from the blowfly"): it is allied to the Ba'rangu ("a white cloud") whose *mala* is Miliwuru (also a "white cloud"). The Ri:radjingu join, but are not directly associated with, the Kalpu *mata* ("the small *miliga* moon-fish") and Marakulu *mata* ("the *dandei* bark from the *durilji* gum tree"). The Kalpu are really Kaulwu:rl *mala* ("a bushy-topped spear-wood tree"), allied to the Djarlwak *mata* (associated with the spear-wood tree): alternate names for this *mala* are Mamari:n ("the spear-wood tree") and Djamunda ("little moon fish about the reef"). Marakulu *mata* is usually allied to Wurungguku ("the cry of the *wiriei* pigeon"), Marangu ("*durilji* gum bark"), Kopateiindamiri ("spear stick from the *durilji* tree") and Lultma'rangu *mata* (that is, "look down to the Marangu"), who belong to the Durilji *mala* ("sapling of a gum-tree"). Another Durilji group has the Dapingu *mata* ("pigeon"). Moreover, Marakulu, Marangu, Lultma'rangu and Kopateiindamiri *mata* can be Da:poingu (not Dapingu) *mala*, and Ri:radjingu, Kalpu, Ngeimil ("lily root") and Gwo:la mala ("salt-water catfish") *mata* can also join in.

This gives some idea of a few of the *jiritja* and *dua mala* and *mata*, together with the meanings of the terms which are directly and indirectly associated with the clan mythology, totemism and ritual life. "Inside" or sacred names are used also to refer to the clans; these, too, are associated with the ritual life, and are used only on the ceremonial ground in a special form of what are known as *bukalilji* (*jiritja*) or *bukali* (*dua*)—sacred invocations to the main Spirit Beings.

Each clan (or each linguistic group), or series of clans (or of *mata*), shares in a common mythology, and undertakes particular ceremonies associated with this. Each clan, too, has access to a number of waterholes, some of which are sacred; and each is guardian of sacred *mareiin* (an "outside" or camp term) or *rangga* ("inside" or sacred term) ceremonial objects, and of *nara* ceremonies. Frequently the members of both moieties unite to perform the *nara* of one clan (or *mata*), but the real ownership is rarely disputed.

Certain *mata* are more closely allied by ties of marriage than are others, and each *mata* has definite *mata* of the opposite moiety with which it prefers to arrange marriages.

This is the fundamental basis of Yirrkalla, and north-eastern

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184 the Mother (or Mothers), represented quite often by Two Sisters
773 even in central-western Northern Territory, is the creative Being;
776 so from this point of view the Wauwalak cycle, now substantiating
794 the introduced Kunapipi, should possess Two Sisters who are themselves creative Beings. Local belief however accords this status only to the Djanggawul; but since the Wauwalak are their daughters, the original doctrine is not greatly inconvenienced. The creative Mothers may still be the Djanggawul, making their appearance through the Wauwalak Sisters, while the Wauwalak themselves are the Mungamunga of the south.

773 The actual meaning of the name Kunapipi is not easy to discover.
794 The cult itself, with its relevant ceremonies, and the myth that substantiates the ritual, is Kunapipi, and this, in most areas mentioned
796 above, is translated as the "Mother", or "Old Woman". The term "old" in this context signifies status and age, although not elderly appearance. Dr. Warner[7] notes that Kunapipi (spelt "Gunabibi") is
[114] one name of the Pythons which swallowed the Wauwalak; but, as mentioned above, this writer stresses the importance of the Snakes at the expense of the Fertility Mothers, and this element is by far the most apparent in north-eastern Arnhem Land religion.

● 192 At Yirrkalla, the name Kunapipi is said to have two meanings.
304 First, the word Kunapipi means "whistle-cock" (that is, a sub-
83 incisure); for these ceremonies came up from the Rose and the
[171] Roper Rivers where subincision is general, whereas throughout the greater part of north-eastern Arnhem Land only circumcision is practised. The ceremonies of Kunapipi in the Yirrkalla region may also be termed *wiri:i* or *wira'i*, meaning "incisure". But Kunapipi means also the uterus of the Mother. That is, the incised penis symbolizes the snake (Python or Rainbow Snake), and the incisure itself the uterus. Symbolically, then, the subincised male member represents both the female and the male organs, essential in the process of fructification.

More generally, however, the term Kunapipi is said to mean the Mother, and in isolated cases the Snake, both being accepted versions. It is because Kunapipi is translated as Fertility Mother, through the greater part of the Northern Territory, that we have preferred to use that appellation.

794 A number of ceremonies throughout the northern half of the
796 Northern Territory are associated with Fertility Mothers and Rain-
184 bow (or Great) Snakes; and it is possible that the majority of these cults are linked with one another, even if their outward expressions are dissimilar. This aspect requires intensive study, including the collection of mythological texts, and analysis of relevant ritual and songs. The Kunapipi cult, however, consists of certain distinctive elements, that are found throughout the areas we have mentioned.

7. L. Warner, *op. cit*, p. 294.

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moving up and down with the swell of the water. The two actors dance towards the *jelmalandji* and the boys, holding carved wands that represent the pandanus shoots. They move forward slowly, their "pokiti" slightly waving, like the pandanus gently swaying in the calm swirl of the "spring" waters. When their actions are quickened their heads shake violently, and this is the pandanus rustling and bending in the strong "spring" waters[7] resulting from the rains sent by Julunggul. The feathers at their apex are the snakes' heads, appearing between the pandanus clumps.

When they reach the *ba'uma* both actors kneel and are surrounded by the singing and stick-beating leader and other participants. They shake their "pokiti" until these become loose, and the leader knocks them off and rubs himself against the actors (that is, he is spiritually one with the totemic dancers). The young boys, and others who are not fully conversant with Kunapipi ritual, as well as visitors, are rubbed against the "pokiti" or against the decorated down on the actors' bodies; this contact transfers "power" (or the sacred essence of the Dreaming) from one to the other. Then the sacred *bukali* "power" (invocation) names are called over the actors, while they shake themselves, to the accompaniment of the beating sticks. Other dances follow, most of which concern the things seen by the Wauwalak at Muruwul.

Next comes the *djamala mareiin*, or ritual fire-throwing. The term *djamala* serves as an important link in all Kunapipi rituals, here and elsewhere, for although it has lost its real significance at Yirrkalla it still includes the throwing of fire-brands. In central-western Northern Territory, for example, Kunapipi ritual is divided into morning (day) and evening (night) ceremonies, the former termed *wilbibi* and the latter *djamalara* (*djamala* being a variation).[8]

In the Yirrkalla version of the Kunapipi, the throwing of fire-sticks by older men across the sacred ground, and over the *ba'uma* in which the boys sit, symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul; the Snake flashes the lightning over the camp in which the Sisters are resting.

Then two actors dance forward, representing the Wauwalak Sisters; one has a paperbark pad which is the "child". From one side of the ground another actor appears; he is the Julunggul Snake, and moves slowly forward towards the "women", until he reaches

7. These strong waters are called secularly *ka'leia*, or in sacred speech *gumunggul*: the latter word is a corruption of the term *gumugu*, which is of very general use in the central-western Northern Territory Kunapipi. For a further definition see Chapters X and XI.

8. For a further example of the widespread use of this word, see R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section X. In that area it has been corrupted to *djama:luk* or *jamaluk*, and refers to a secularized promiscuous ceremony. Real *djamalara* singing includes some of the most beautiful sacred rhythms in Aboriginal Australia.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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medium can do. In this respect they are inseparable from that culture, expressing as they do something of the Aborigines' sense of the beautiful, their feeling of strength and sureness in the essential goodness and vividness of their own way of life. This is an important point, for as these poetic songs stand to-day they represent the achievement, not of individual men or women, but of the community as a whole. Moreover, this achievement does not belong to any one era, but is the culminative result of centuries of effort—how many, we shall probably never know.

The songs are an integral part of the Djanggawul myth and of its ritual, for these three elements are interdependent. The Djanggawul myth, as set out in Chapter 2, is rarely told by a story-teller; it is, rather, sung out, in the manner of the songs presented here and in following chapters. What is more, no *nara* ritual is performed without the accompaniment of these songs.

These songs are not merely traditional; they are also sacred, because each is essentially of divine 'composition'. They set out to describe in detail all the incidents that took place during the wanderings of the Djanggawul, from the time they left their spirit home at Bralgu until they reached the neighbourhood of Milingimbi.[1] There is a certain amount of repetition, beloved of the Aboriginal song man; there are 'inside' and 'singing' words, alternatives to those in everyday use, and a wealth of symbolic allusions. The language of the songs is not archaic or highly specialized, as found in some areas in reference to sacred singing, but is for the most part the ordinary language spoken by the people. This is interspersed with occasional sacred words, 'singing' words, or invocations used only in this context; but essentially the songs are constructed in such a way that all may understand them. They are sung according to a defined traditional rhythm, the words being abbreviated, lengthened or elaborated to meet the requirements of the tune, while the development of the theme proceeds graphically with the help of considerable detail.

These Djanggawul songs express the essence of ceremonial behaviour, and of the relevant mythology, and through them we understand the significance of the *dua nara* and of the Djanggawul cult. To appreciate them fully, it is necessary to understand thoroughly both the ritualistic background and the mythology, in conjunction with other facets of the cultural pattern of this area. While the song is in progress, participants and onlookers alike are reminded of the intent of the ritual—but not of that intent alone, for these sacred

[1] As mentioned elsewhere, this journey is extended in the Milingimbi version of the Djanggawul cycle.

Comments on Part One of the Songs

539 Bradshaw. This is a problem which cannot be solved, and we may only conjecture as to the true state of affairs. However, in the Song, the fires of the Baijini, their talking, and the sea smell from their fires, all incite the Djanggawul to paddle faster, in order to reach the mainland in the shortest possible time.

The reference to careful paddling (see Song 4, line 14) suggests the roughness of the sea, and the Djanggawul's anxiety lest they should inadvertently upset the canoe, and so lose the mat and sacred *rangga*. This care is particularly evident when a marine monster appears; but despite it they eventually get their *rangga* and mat wet, and decide to throw them away (Song 26).

The 'sea goose' mentioned in Song 5 is not really a goose, but merely resembles one: it has white chest feathers, the rest of its body being bluish grey tinged with red. Normally it lives among the swamps, but occasionally flies far out to sea. The introduction of such a bird into this section of the cycle suggests that the Djanggawul are nearing land. The geese come from Buragumi (line 2), a place comparatively close to Port Bradshaw, but occupied at that time by the Baijini. The word *mala* is used in reference to flocks of these birds, as they settle on the water before the paddling Djanggawul; *mala* may simply mean a 'crowd' or a 'lot', but here it refers to a 'clan', that is, a clan of geese. The word *madjara* (line 3), or *maidjarana* in Song 1, line 32, is used in reference not only to a flock or clan of geese, but also to sacred *rangga* emblems; another example of this is *jandaljandaljn* (Song 5, line 3), or *jandaljandalwa* (Song 1, line 32), a term which refers collectively to the emblems. This usage is fairly common in the songs, when 'inside' terms refer to different things and must be explained in context. On the other hand, such words with multiple meanings are used symbolically, like (for example) the word *ngainmara*, a mat, bag, uterus, or whale. The flocks of geese suggest the idea of plenty and fertility: 'They are like the many people we shall soon put on the mainland' (say the Djanggawul). *Vide* line 5, 'Flocks of birds, like hordes of people, people whom we shall put on the mainland.'

●[192] The word *bongumbongun* (*bungunbungin*), Song 5, line 4, although referring to the *mala* of these sea birds, is to-day used to classify all the Aborigines from the Cape Stewart region, a little west of Milingimbi, across to Darwin: that is, people who do not belong to the north-eastern Arnhem Land cultural bloc. In line 4 (*vide* original text) the word *ereingu* (or *jereingu*) is used, and translated as 'half the people in here', referring to the people who are to be removed from the Sisters' uteri and left at various places. The same theme is extended in line 5; this refers to a large group of people towards Arnhem Bay, and to the Gurwia *mala*, a group

of one object against another? And again, are payments or return barter deferred, or is the matter settled always out of hand by simple exchange, on the spot?

To understand this it is necessary to look into the whole system of exchange and of "payment" among these people, to live with them and to watch these things take place, to learn the basis of every exchange of property, above all, to record the actual terms applied by the natives themselves to each type of gift, exchange or other socio-economic transaction.

The ordinary word for giving is *gurrupän*. To take property or possessions without asking is *djauyun*, but *djauyunamirri*, to take from one another, to take one another's possessions, is used for actual exchange or barter. *Djauyun*, used without qualification, has almost the force of "steal", but a stronger word, *mänäŋirri*, (*mänäŋi*, imperative), is properly used for actual theft.

The following are the chief ways in which possessions change hands, with the names given by the people themselves to these transactions:

(1) *yanna gurrupän*, (lit. for nothing give), a goodwill present, a free gift without any *immediate* obligation to reciprocate. But some kind of return presentation is inseparable from almost any form of giving.[23] As my informants expressed it "you give me and I give you back but I no tell you"; i.e. when I receive a gift I do not say that I shall eventually reciprocate. It is not on a bargain or barter basis, and the reciprocal gift in this type of exchange may be delayed indefinitely.

[23] This apparent anomaly will be better understood in the light of information which follows later in this paper. See especially the meaning of *wetj*, page 78.

192 431 The giver knows that his gift must be reciprocated eventually and he gains much satisfaction from the anticipation of this.

(2) *kännän gurrupän*, a free gift, pure and simple, without any reciprocal obligation, as between *gurruto* (relations) of certain orders, and *mulkuro* (strangers), where there is a unilateral obligation to make presents. [574 609] To strangers, especially to visitors, it is customary, even obligatory, to make gifts of food or *gerri*, but as these people do not come within the normal kinship horizon there exists no established code of behaviour towards them and reciprocation is therefore not expected.[24]

(3) *baka bäkmärämma*, (lit. tail break), i.e. "to turn back the tail", to reciprocate. A present with definite reciprocal obligation. This type of giving carries the obligation to make a return gift or payment at once, and is quite different from the vague and indefinite obligation which characterises gifts of the *yanna gurrupän* type.

[606] (4) *milmarr, bundur*, the name applied to special forms of cumulative giving of gifts to relatives of certain

[24] The importance of discovering some bond between individuals in Arnhem Land society, in order to establish a code of behaviour, is stressed by the fact that those outside the kinship system are called *mulkuro*, (strangers). When I asked a native who was short of tobacco if he had asked a certain white man he replied at once: "*Yuta bällända dual'—mulkuro*". He is a new white man that one—a stranger (with the implication "and therefore one with whom I have no bond, towards whom I have no established pattern of behaviour"), that is, one whose reactions there is no means of predicting.

orders (mother-in-law and husband of mother-in-law[25]) to build up goodwill, *märaŋguma*, lit. "to build up *marr*" (see page 37) and deliberately intended to leave a feeling of obligation (*vide supra* page 43).

(5) *buku djauyun*, straight-out exchange or barter, in which one article is balanced against another. In Arnhem Land, where the ceremonial aspect even of transactions in which commodities change hands, is stressed, it is the "giving" that is the important matter, the rite, the gift and counter gift, rather than the assessment of its value or equivalent (see below no. 6).

(6) *mälli*, buy or purchase. The idea of direct purchase is foreign to the Arnhem Land socio-economic pattern and probably owes its origin to the influence of Indonesian culture. In former times the Macassar voyagers arrived on the coast of Arnhem Land with the north-west monsoon and dispersed along the coast to their regular fishing stations, vessels returning again and again to the same areas which they had visited in previous years and where they set up depots on shore for the boiling and smoking of *bêche-de-mer* or trepang.

The Macassar voyagers recognised the native ownership of land, and the people say that they paid tribute each season to the owners of the territories for the right to fish for trepang and pearls. In referring to this *payment* by the Macassar visitors it is significant that the natives used the word *mälli*. My informants stated that the natives themselves did not actually work for the Macassar trepangers but occa-

[25] The special status of this man as the recipient, depends chiefly upon the fact, not that he is *kauwäl* (mother's brother), but that he is the husband of *mukul rumaro*, wife's mother, actual or potential.

sionally, when men were short, they helped to make up the crews of canoes which operated as tenders from the praus in diving for trepang.

Today the word *mälli*, with this idea of "payment", is used principally in connection with the manufacture of wooden dugout canoes, and these form part of the culture complex that was left as a legacy by the Indonesian visitors, a fact which is stressed in mythology.[20]

A glance at the various types of transactions listed above, in which property, or *gerri*, changes hands, and in which the natives' own terms and classification have been used, brings out the fact that in all but one the social or ceremonial aspect rather than the hard material or "commercial", the strictly economic, is stressed, and that in only one is the idea of direct *payment* or recompense, paramount. This is in the manufacture of the wooden dugout canoe, *lippa lippa*, which, as will be seen in section 4, is the work of special craftsmen. Apart from receiving it as a gift, there are two principal ways of obtaining a canoe. The first is by employing a craftsman to cut it, the second, called "*täkkul koŋ gurrupän*", lit. "axe hand give", is to pay the craftsman by presenting him with a steel axe, which, after he has used it to cut the canoe, becomes his own property.

[20] There is some tendency to assume that these wooden canoes were once manufactured with stone axes. Actually proof is not lacking of the fact that the *lippa lippa* (wooden dugout canoe) was part of the culture complex introduced by the visitors from Indonesia and that these canoes were never made in Australia until after the introduction of the iron axe. (This, however, does not apply to the seagoing dugout outrigger canoes of Eastern Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland, which were made with native shell adzes, but which had a separate origin.)

of special types and very local in occurrence, come to be distributed throughout the whole of this great territory? And how, again, are pigments and ochre—*miko*, (red), *butälläk*, (yellow), and *raitpa*, a reddish-purple pigment with a metallic sheen which is used especially for ceremonial purposes—which occur in deposits localised in certain clan territories, distributed throughout the whole area? Why are these pigments and other materials not guarded as jealously as the patterns in polychrome and retained in one area instead of being so widely dispersed?

Each individual in Arnhem Land is the centre of a great ceremonial exchange cycle. A man calls the people of all those groups to the east and north-east of himself, naming them from the class of *gerri* which characterise them, *kumur miwait*; those to the north *kumur muadäk* (*muadäk*, the generic name for all calico or fabric), to the south-west and south, *kumur kärin* (inside), to the west and north-west, *kumur kätjirk*, and those to the south-east and east, *kumur djalk* (paperbark sheath used for *ŋämbi lirra*—literally the "tooth" or head).

Kumur is really the breastbone or sternum, but a hill is also *kumur* or *buku*, and *kumur* is used again to denote direction, aspect, and hence, the quarters within the ceremonial exchange cycle. Each individual within this great cycle has friends of a type called *kumuryanna märnda*, really "breast to breast those two". This expression is used of friends who are partners, who stand opposite one another and exchange gifts or *gerri* within the exchange system, and between whom is carried out a life-long system of ceremonial exchange. These relationships, which go by the general title of *kumur märnda*, are sometimes very complex, sometimes simple. Certain types of gifts characterise each of the groups (and indeed in at least two

192 431 577 instances, actually give their names to them[36]). (See map No. 2.) A man who has relatives (*gurruto*) in groups in one direction (*kumur*) draws from that quarter, in the form of gifts, *gerri* (valuables), which he has an obligation to pass to relatives or friends in another group in the appropriate *kumur*. Although he received many presents, much *gerri*, in the course of each year, he does not hold these things for long but acts merely as a temporary custodian, a clearing house, and passes them on to satisfy the incessant demand for *wetj* (page 78), and to maintain his status and prestige in the *kumuryänna märnda* relationship of the ceremonial exchange cycle.

431 Certain types of *gerri* are characteristic of each of these *kumur* and the receipt of a gift from one direction sets up an obligation to reciprocate with *gerri* from another. So a series of obligations, each with its counter obligation, forms the mechanism by which *gerri* are passed for hundreds of miles, *always away from the direction in which they originated.*

182 431 This ceremonial exchange provides the basis for a great cultural movement that has for its motive force the all-powerful "drive" rather than the obligations of mere economic exchange, which although an important accompaniment, is subservient to the ceremonial aspect. It is this

[36] *Kumur djalk*, applied to the people to the south and to *gerri* from that quarter (*kumur*), takes its name from *djalk*, the paper-bark sheath of *ŋämbi lirra*, the most characteristic and important object derived from this quarter in the exchange system. *Kumur muadäk* is named from *muadäk*, the collective term for the calico, wool and associated material which was introduced by the Macassar voyagers from this (northern) quarter and which, under the established system, passes to the south to *kumur djalk* and *kumur kärin* to satisfy the obligation for reciprocal gifts in return for *ŋämbi*, boomerangs and other characteristic *gerri*.

It is this
ceremonial exchange cycle, and the rule that *gerri* from one direction pass to the opposite quarter, e.g. from *kumur kätjirk* and *kumur kärin* to *kumur miwait*, which provides the means by which such objects as boomerangs (*källi-gälli*), a conspicuous foreign element in the area, have come from a region hundreds of miles away. It provides the motive force by which bundles of stone spear heads, (*lirra ŋämbi*), have come north from the far-famed quarry at *ŋillipidji*, and dispersed throughout the territory. There is, however, some flexibility in this arrangement for it is obvious that a man who receives a ceremonial present from a partner may pass it to one of a number of people situated in a fairly wide geographical range. The natives refer to the routes along which *gerri* are passed as *dukarr*, paths, or roads[37] because these have become fixed fairly definitely by tradition. Objects of a certain type, such as boomerangs, although they are not manufactured in Arnhem Land but originate far to the south or south-west, may come by a south-western route along the Katherine River; from the south, up the Wilton by way of the Raimbaräŋa, a tribe of the interior, or they may come from the same source by a more easterly route via the Ritar'ŋo and Wagilläk clans, who, like the Raimbaräŋa, are interior people and are great rovers. (See map No. 2.)

This means that of a number of boomerangs manufac-

[37] The use of the term "road" for these routes along which objects passed within these ceremonial exchange systems, seems to have been general in Australia and Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown has furnished the following note from his experience of Western Australia:

"The way in which objects pass continuously in one direction (which the W.A. natives call a 'road') is illustrated by the presence of pearl-shell from the Kimberley District among the tribes of the Great Australian Bight."

kumur märnda exchange, gave me the following list of *gerri* which he received from each of the five quarters or *kumur*[38] which form the horizon of his exchange cycle. 431 439

(1) *Kumur miwait*, (east). *Kaiyit*[39] (iron headed spears) and the round black pounding stones used throughout Arnhem Land, especially for pulverising *ŋätu*, (*Cycas* fruit). This stone, which comes from the English Company's Islands, is called *poipuro* by groups as widely separated linguistically as Kopapoiŋo (and the allied Tjämbarpoiŋo) on the one hand, and Mildjiŋi on the other. Sometimes *ŋämbi lirra* (flint spear heads), which form the most characteristic of the *gerri* from *kumur djalk*, to which they give their name, may, as has been indicated above, reach a man in North Central Arnhem Land (e.g. a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the Lower Glyde River) by an easterly route via the roving Ritar'ŋo people, thence along the southern side of Buckingham Bay. [411 412]

[38] Mildjiŋi use the same name for these groups, but the actual word *kumur* (sternum) becomes *biri* in this language. [192]

[39] The natives of Caledon, Trial and Blue Mud Bays, on the Gulf of Carpentaria, have acquired much skill in the making of *kaiyit*, and the manufacture of fine spear heads has become almost an industry at Trial Bay. Even before I actually entered Arnhem Land I had been surprised to obtain on the Roper River, iron headed (so-called "shovel") spears from Woodah Island, Blue Mud Bay. I found it difficult to understand why iron spear heads should be passing down to the Roper from Blue Mud Bay, where there was no white settlement, where contacts even by sea were few, and iron relatively scarce and highly valued, into country where cattle stations had long been established and where iron was relatively easy to get. But the explanation of this was found later, in the discovery in Northern Arnhem Land of the existence of the ceremonial exchange cycle, which supplies the motive force for the great movements of *gerri* over distances of hundreds of miles, of which this is a part, and to which impetus was given by the coming [325] 182 177 431 439

ŋäti	⇌	*käminyarr* (mother's father—daughter's son and daughter).
kawwal	⇌	*wäkku* (mother's brother—sister's son and daughter).
duwe	⇌	*källai* (mother's brother's or father's sister's son and daughter).
mari	⇌	*kutara* (mother's mother's brother—sister's daughter's son and daughter).
wawa	⇌	*yukko yukko* (elder brother—younger brother).
bapa n'ymokunin	⇌	*katu* (father's younger brother—son and daughter).
maralkor	⇌	*korroŋ* (mother's mother's brother's son—father's sister's daughter's son and daughter).

People who stand in the *kumur märnda* relationship are regarded as partners facing one another in the exchange system, and each has the obligation to give gifts of the appropriate order. Each strives to pass to the other, his partner in the *kumur mändji* relationship, gifts of the kind appropriate to the *kumur* in which he stands, and the partner in turn must reciprocate, though not necessarily immediately. This exchange is not in any sense barter although circulation of goods on a large scale results. Its primary object, to the native, is not merely to gain goods, for to these people the ceremonial aspect is the important one. As my informant said: "Meaning, to give all the time—*kumur märnda ŋällinya* (partners together, we two)—all the time, till die". i.e. the objective of each is to give in order to maintain and affirm the bond between each *kumur* pair, until they die, when their children carry it on. If two men die who are *kumuryanna märnda*, their wives may take over the relationship, and carry on the ritual exchange. The importance of the *ceremonial* aspect, and the fact that this relationship is

different from that of pure economic exchange, is indicated by the use of a special term, *wetj*, which means "to give", but in a ceremonial sense, a sense quite distinct from that for which the ordinary word for giving—*gurrupän*, (*gurrupulo*, imperative), is used. Again, my informant, Raiwälla of Mildjiṇi, in explaining the ceremonial exchange cycle, the *ḳumur märnda* relationship in which he was a very active participant, exclaimed, "If you have a good thing here, might be you give it to me. You think, 'I give it to him. I like to give it to him.' All right, *wetj gurrupulo närräna*[43] (you give to me)." To illustrate further the meaning of *wetj*, this man added, "If he asks, you give it to him because he asks. But if you give it yourself—that is *wetj*—that is *marr*, because you *like* to give it to him." "*Djal ni gurrupänaran*," he added in the Like (desire) you to give, language, i.e. it is *marr*[44] because you give it freely, spontaneously, from a desire to give and not because he has asked for it. Freely rendered, "If you have something you value, perhaps you may give it spontaneously to me, your partner in the ceremonial exchange cycle. Or you may think about it and waver."

In this phrase my informant expresses the momentary hesitance, the reluctance of a man with something he prizes, and would like to possess himself, to pass it on to his partner in the *ḳumur märnda* relationship. He thinks about it and wavers—but finally he decides to give it. The

[43] A little of the native text has been retained, chiefly because it is difficult to find the exact equivalent in English.

[44] *Marr* has been defined (page 37) in part as "spiritual power" but it means much more than this. It is also the "power to respond" and is generally associated in some way with personal things. *Marr* is the "power", the "drive" which lies behind ritual and is the force which brings good and bad "luck", success in hunting.

114 177 ture of the natives of North-eastern Arnhem Land showed a resistance to the influence of this virile culture from Indonesia, and certainly none for the statement that the ideas of these people were "no different from what they were before he (the Malay seafarer) arrived . . ."

121 177 I do not propose here to attempt a full review of the influence of the Indonesian culture on the ceremonial life of these people, but merely to show its effect on the ceremonial exchange cycle and the economic system which accompanies it.

177 192 431 439 That this influence was extensive is proved beyond question by the fact (see pp. 67, 68f) that the term *muadäk*, which gives its name to *kumur muadäk*, the northern sector of the exchange cycle, is the collective or generic name given by the natives to all the *gerri* which they obtained formerly from the Macassar visitors, of which the chief items are knives, axes of the type called *luŋa linya*, nails (for fish hooks etc.), fish hooks and lines, bottle glass (for scrapers), tobacco, smoking pipes (*pämatukka*), belts, wooden dugout canoes, (*lippa lippa*), beads, (*männi-männi*), and material such as calico, blankets, string and later, wool, to which the collective term *mäthäkäl* was applied.

114 324 135 431 463 When Professor Warner contrasts the ease with which an Arnhem Land native acquired an iron axe from the Malays, with the labour involved in the making of the (admittedly) much less efficient and satisfactory stone axe, he overlooks certain important factors. First, that stone axes, like flint spear heads, are made from special stone which occurs only in restricted areas, and that while any man who merely uses an axe to get wild honey, can grind the edge, the implement itself is usually made initially by a craftsman, a specialist in the working of the stone who lives in the country in which it occurs, and like the smooth hard

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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CHAPTER FIVE

Jungle Lore and Etiquette

Our front door overlooked an alluring crystal-clear stream where it joined the sea. When I asked what the name of the Yirrkala camp meant, I was told: 'Oh, that is the water where the camp is made.' This beach by the sea was a favoured camping-ground and scores of Yulengor drank from the stream. A white man drinks from a bush stream by cupping his hands, or by blowing away the dust on the surface and putting his lips to the water; but Yulengor flip the water into their mouths. Out in the bush, when we were hot and thirsty, we came to a small soak in the hills, whereupon most of the men wandered off for strips of paper-bark or large green leaves from which they drank after deftly twisting them into drinking cups. Scores of these saccules lay around the soak, where they had been used at other times.

Apt terms describe methods of drinking. 'Wiaktun' is used of the baling of a canoe, which is accomplished by throwing the water out in a shell or the cupped hands; and the same word is applied to tossing water into the mouth. 'Dthurara-luptun' is a word-picture of drinking with the lips in the stream, for 'dthurara' is a doorway, river-entrance, or human mouth, and 'luptun' is the present tense of the verb 'to wash'.

In spite of the constant use of spears and the skill necessary in handling them, accidents do occur. Marjirry, a lad of about sixteen, one day left the station for a day's hunting. He stalked a kangaroo and speared it, but missed all the

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104 rearranged. Consonants also could be revalued to provide for the common 'ng' and 'ny' at the beginning of many words, and for the frequent 'tch' we used 'tj'. Vagaries of
• 192 pronunciation occurred in unwritten and slurred words, such as 'nama' and 'ngama' (the verbs 'to see' and 'to hear'). For years I was confused by the almost indistinguishable differences (all vowels being short) between the verb 'ngurra' (I lie down), the noun 'ngurru' (a nose), the adjectival suffix 'nguru' (from), and the noun 'ngurra' (a 'fire'). 'Jukor' is a louse whilst any sort of fat is 'jukorr'. There seems to be no connexion between the terms, except
[262] that the fat of any fish or game is considered a rare and
[515] tasty morsel, the sight of it exciting children as much as would a tin of lollies, and head-lice are small fat parasites which women and children gather from each other's heads and eat with obvious relish.

193 It has been said that aboriginal languages have a common root-stock, and that some features are common to them all.
[197] The indefinite article in language is missing in Arnhem Land, as it is elsewhere, but 'ka' is used in the north as the equivalent of the English conjunction 'and'. With one or two exceptions aboriginal adjectives follow the noun, not only in the north but throughout Australia. Some forms of the pronoun 'ngara' (I) or 'ngaraku' ('my' or 'mine') are found in all dialects from Cape York to Cape Leeuwin. In addition to singular and plural pronouns, there are also first, second, and third duals: 'I', 'you', and 'he' are there; 'ngali' refers to the two of us when both are present; 'nyilinyu' indicates two persons, of whom one is absent—for example, if a man said to me 'Who made that canoe?' and it belonged to an absent friend and me, I should reply 'nyilinyu' (the two of us 'made it'). 'Numa' is the form of 'you two' and 'munda' refers to 'those two'.

The language runs to inclusive and exclusive plurals in which 'napuru' refers exclusively to those of us in the

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vicinity of the speaker and 'limeru' includes everybody, far and wide, such as the human race.

Stone Age men have little use for numbers, for they have so little to count. If a definite number is used at all, it is usually under five. Fingers are the theoretical basis for counting, and one is 'wonggain'; two 'marrama'; three is two plus one; four is two and two; five is known as a hand, 'korng'. Six is hand plus one, and so on to ten, which is two hands, 'korng-marrama'. When pidgin is in use, the numerals are one to five, and after that it is 'big mob'.

Aboriginal languages are 'alive' and are being altered to meet new needs and conditions. Many new words have been absorbed as a result of the Macassars trading here, and so complete has been the acceptance and use of these terms, that the oldest nomads, some of whom travelled to Macassar on the trading proas, do not readily recognize their origin. With the advent of white traders, the Yulengor began to assimilate English words, and at Yirrkala I found a boy called Deamer (steamer) and a girl Giggerat (cigarette). Soap is 'jope', scissors are 'thither', razor is 'yeezer', cockroach 'karkrartj', and from one end of the country to the other, flying fox has been corrupted to 'bailanbok'. A nomad can do no other than reckon the hours of the day by the sun, and as a consequence, clocks and watches are also known as sun, 'wolu'.

'Dimit-dimirr' is the word for barbed fronds on the pandanus palm, as well as for thorny trees and spiky anemones, but now it is given to introduced lemon trees and barbed wire. 'To swim' is 'waitun' and to this they add the suffix 'mirry', something like our suffix 'ful', meaning 'full of', and the resultant 'waitunamirry' becomes a boat's propellor. 'Kurrta', denoting fire, firewood, or smoke, now serves for an engine, and 'kurrtamirry', full of fire, is a shotgun or rifle. Any law is 'rorm', and the verb 'to give' is 'gurrpan', so that to teach something is 'rormgurrpan',

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and a school-teacher becomes 'rorm-gurrpan-a-mirry'. Aboriginal dialects are picturesque, and the same terms are used for objects possessing some similarity; thus, twenty or more names for parts of the body are used for trees and geographical formations. A backbone is the same as a mountain chain; the nose on men, animals, and fish is the same as a peninsular, a cape, or the bow of a boat or canoe; arms, wings, limbs of trees, and tributary streams are all called 'werrna'. A main river stream is called throat. Wounds and sores are classed with holes in utensils, canoes, huts, or clothing.

When human conditions resemble natural phenomena, this process is reversed, and the adjective blunt, 'dumuk', is used for a bush track through thick scrub; a man, too, may be 'blunt' or dull of hearing or intellect and understanding; the word is also in everyday use to describe a blunt axe or knife. Hollow logs or burial posts are 'dupun', and in a mild form of abuse a nomad may be called 'dupun' or empty-headed.

Scores of appropriate place-names occur throughout the country, but it is not surprising that there are also hundreds of other euphonious names having no particular significance, for along the coast and on the countless bush tracks, every waterhole, swamp, hill, river crossing, and ancient camp site has a name. 'Rungi' could be a falling tide, low tide, or an exposed beach, and there are many coastal names linked with rungi. West Arnhem Land is known for its low lying swamps and mudflats, but in the north-east there is a startling change to clean, sandy beaches with bold headlands, and the latter area is called 'Rungi-Poingar'—'the place of beaches'. Most camps are made on beaches or sandy patches in the bush, but a horde in Blue Mud Bay haunts an outcrop of stone and clay far out on a mangrove mud flat, and consequently their camp is known as 'Lokor-Poingar'—'the place of feet'; and the reference is to the spreading mangrove roots or feet.

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LANGUAGES, SIGNS AND SMOKE-SIGNALS

From Cape Wilberforce to Arnhem Bay the ruggedness of the coastline is exceeded only by the precipitous bluffs of the English Company's Islands near by, and the whole area is known as 'Bwartaba' or 'rocky country', 'wartaba' being the name for rocks. Cape Grey is a prominent headland in the Gulf of Carpentaria and is called 'Bokorral', 'bokor' referring to the cliff-face and also to the human forehead.

Names for birds are sound-perfect imitations of bird calls. A crow is known by the raucous 'warrk', and native-companions making a noise resembling a low-toned gargle are called 'gorral-kor'. The brown pheasant calls pleasantly on several clipped notes and is known as 'bukbuk'.

Pithy sayings are in common use, and the best known have English equivalents. 'Mata-rang' is a man who never wanders far from his horde territory, or, when infrequently visiting distant friends, is for ever anxious to return home; literally he is a stick-in-the-mud. The term is also given to an adolescent who finds his mother's company preferable to that of boys of his own age and who follows her when she hunts for food.

If a man comes into a friendly camp and wishes to pass on important news, he waits for a lull in the conversation, and remarks cryptically: 'When the tide goes out, have a look on the beach and you will find something.' His hearers are instantly alert and make an opportunity for him to tell his story. There seem to be trouble-makers in every camp, with their accusations, rumours, and quarrels, and in exasperation they may be told to 'Get out and camp by yourself till the wind cleans your hair'.

Stone Age man has an extensive sign-language or semiology, and I accumulated a vocabulary of over two hundred simple signs for common customs, names, questions, instructions, and relationships. Sign-terms are generally imitations of the subject referred to; when making the sign

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551 the distinction, and when I forgot the new name and used the old one she remained naïvely silent till correctly addressed.

775 Appropriate names are given to wandering ghosts, though 'mali', 'morquoi' and 'warru' are the most comon. Mali and morquoi are also used for reflections in water or in a [192] mirror, and warru is applied to any shade or shadow. Ghosts roam at will, hunting and fishing, gathering yams and cooking them; strange events, unaccountable fires, a falling tree, and unrecognizable footprints can all be attributed to mali. At times a mali deserts a skeleton and hovers round a mother's camp, and should she find that her food has disappeared, she is happy in the belief that her dead child's shadow came to her when hungry.

'Birrimbirr' is the second spirit found in every individual. [774] Birrimbirr come from the spirit world of Buralkor, and at death relatives urge them to return there. Irrespective of the life lived on earth, birrimbirr return to Buralkor, and good and bad spirits live there in hordes as they do on earth.

[716] Buralkor lies beyond the rising sun and is the home of the Great Spirit who sent out the first creative Ancestresses. [821] The sun comes from the spirit land and goes back again each night to suckle her infant. On its flight to Buralkor a spirit first sees a cloud rising from the sea and later it resolves itself into a dense jungle with every leaf holding a sparkling dewdrop. On approaching the trees, the birrimbirr finds an opening, and a plover guides it through the branches to the camp of its horde's spirits, where it is welcomed and it settles down to a happy life of hunting. Birrimbirr are able to see what is taking place on earth, and from time to time they hear earthly relatives calling for help and for them to go and pilot in another spirit.

765 With both mali and birrimbirr safely disposed of, the bones are smeared with red-ochre, and involved totemic symbols